2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

daylight hours. But there was also a division according to season and age. In summer, the older men did the farm work, with help from the young men and women at planting and harvest. The young men did some hunting, travelling, ditch building, house building and practiced for the races on which the old men bet. Women, in summer, gathered wild foods, the older women cooked and made baskets while the young ground corn and fetched wood and water. In winter the old men made rope, tools and weapons while the young men fought and hunted deer: the old women still cooked and the young ones were, as always, the wood and water carriers.

The distinction between young and old approached that in a modern society between laboring and employing classes. Heavy labor, everywhere, was done by the young, under the direction of the old. Young men had no voice in council or even in the planning of a war raid, an occasion when, in some Indian societies, they were so prominent. Young women did not manage their households. Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning and, both in the household and the village, the commanding positions belonged to the old.

It was also the old who practiced the special crafts whose returns went beyond the scope of gifts and became commercial goods. The constant labor required of youth left little time for the long process of learning pottery, netting, mat plaiting, skin dressing and weaving by the Papago process of imitation and repetition. Men and women did not "sit down" to these crafts until middle age. Coiled basketry was the one exception to the rule, for baskets were a necessity and every girl had to learn enough about them to make one during her puberty seclusion. But the other specialties often were not begun until there were grown sons and daughters-in-law in the home to carry on the day's work.

Among the men' specialties, deer hunting was the most common and was the only one practiced by young men. It meant a long apprenticeship beginning in boyhood and involving the learning of magic and the clever use of the deer-head disguise. One man in a family was sometimes the hunter while the others attended to the land. The other arts were tool making, weaving and skin dressing. The last two are handed over to women in tribes where all the men are busy with war and hunting. But young Papago women had a full time occupation as corn carriers and neither war nor hunting was a major occupation. The women's arts were the plaiting of sleeping mats and of ceremonial baskets, the netting and dying of the intricately made carrying net, the weaving of hands on the hair loom and the making of pottery.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Papago society was completely democratic if we except the class division into old and young which made every one, in the course of his life, first an inferior, then a superior. Within an age group, all had equal rights and even the officials did not dictate. It was their aim to come to a decision which should have the complete emotional support of all and they were willing to take endless time in achieving this. The result was an extremely stable society, moving slowly and not subject to tyrannous changes.

Unity was not a difficult ideal, for all had the same surroundings and experiences, and all had been conditioned from childhood to the same code of behavior. It was this relentless conditioning which made organized government superfluous. People were already prepared for the necessary duties and, unless circumstances changed, would perform them almost automatically.

Unity being the ideal, no one was expected to take authority or to "make himself big". Common sense and industry were what gained respect and any attempt at prestige would arouse suspicion. A man who had been through the various purifications and thus achieved all that individual prowess could, was warned when he became a "ripe man": "Now you must always stay behind the others. When food is passed, you must be the last to take it." This was the accepted demeanor for the great.

The unity of the group was constantly emphasized in words. "We love our relatives. Our pleasure in life is to be with our relatives." The Papago, so restrained in most directions, seem, from the White point of view, over-expressive on this one point, but it is the emphasizing of a principle: a constant reminder of the proper group attitude.

The individual derives his sense of importance from his feeling of unity with the group. There need be no struggle for position for he has position which only the most outrageous conduct can forfeit. As there is no special honor for the officials, so there is no lack of respect for the humdrum group members. The frantic hunger for success which plagues a White society was entirely unknown to the old time Papago.

A good man in the Papago sense, was a useful member of the group. He must be peaceable and loyal. He must be industrious, so that others would not have to support him, and he must be generous with gifts. He must have common sense so that he would be an asset in the group councils but he should not have striking ideas which would make unity hard to achieve. He should be modest and, no matter how old and wise he was, wait to speak until he was asked. He should never quarrel or speak evil. His ambition

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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PERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

611 593 Papago society is patriarchal; there is always a recognized "head of the house," and his identity is never in doubt. In a typical household of three generations, the grandfather holds authority over the group, and each married son is the head of his own family. If the grandfather grows too old for active responsibility, his authority passes gradually into the hands of the son who is generally acknowledged to be the ablest—not necessarily the eldest. If the old man dies, his wife becomes titular head of the house, but she may depend upon her sons for decisions. The Papago do not practice primogeniture, and the seniority pattern is not rigid. Although the head of the house always has the final word, he has a strong obligation to solicit and consider carefully the opinions of all the other family members before final decisions are made. Even little children may be consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or to the hospital is seldom questioned. Thus there is much give-and-take in household relationships, and final decisions on family matters usually represent the opinion of the group.

561 Certain deferences are almost unfailingly observed. Foremost among these is respect for elders. Seniority automatically conveys authority; the child obeys his parents, but he must also defer to his older brothers and sisters. Nor is this merely a pattern for young children. Each person in the family seems to have some authority over all those younger than himself; unmarried daughters living in the household, even if they are over thirty, pay decided deference to their parents and older brothers and sisters and discuss any important matter with them. The young men do the same, but they have more freedom of decision than their sisters.

562 [611] Men as a rule have greater prestige and authority than women. Descent is reckoned through the male line, and inheritance is from the father. Older brothers have more authority than older sisters, and all boys expect their sisters to wait upon them in the home. It is felt that a woman should not travel outside her village unless she is escorted by a man of her family,[6] presumably to protect her from the advances of other men. Men usually receive and spend the family's cash income. Even if a woman has a strong personality and actually makes decisions, the man is always the family spokesman, and the woman will disclaim authority, at least in public. A telling rebuke to a wife is "Do you think you are the head of the house?" Women are free to become "medicine men," but few do; neither do they hold village offices nor partici-

6. This custom is gradually being modified in the East.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN THE VILLAGE

622 Authority in the village is vested in the chief or *kobanal* (from the Spanish *gobernador*) and his two assistants. According to custom—since there is no written law for village affairs—these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family, but this is by no means universal. (In Topawa the man who was chief at the time of the field work for this study was not closely related to any of his three most recent predecessors.) The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, division of lands, disagreements over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together.

623 In his nonjudicial capacity, the chief is the head of the village council, composed of all the men of the village. In the old days they met every evening in the village "round house,"[2] but nowadays meetings are less frequent and regular. Here all the village problems are discussed: lands are assigned for farm use, stock-owners air their problems, and the doings of the Agency are talked over. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action.

623 561 The analogy to the patterns of authority in the household is striking. The principle of seniority prevails, and men under twenty-five ordinarily do not say much in council meeting. Some young men nowadays attempt to speak out before they have had enough experience to know much (according to Papago standards); but, even if their ideas are good ones, they gain scant consideration. It is the elders who do most of the talking. The chief is in somewhat the same position as the family head; his decisions are final, but he is obligated to consult all the others, to find out "what people think about it."

184 622 The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs prevails in most parts of the Reservation. The people of the western villages, however, say that their chiefs exist only in the imaginations of white people, and it is true that they have no elected officials or formal council meetings. Yet in every western village except Hickiwan, there is an old man who by the force of his personality has attained the leadership of his community. (In Hickiwan a relatively

2. An old-style round building thatched with grass. In some villages the house is now a rectangular adobe building.

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[text continues on p. 65—Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter VIII

THE FIRST FOUR YEARS

000 IN THE first of this book we have seen the Papago working and living together in the desert. We know something of their way of life and the changes brought to it by contacts with white culture, a little about the Papago outlook on life, and some of the chief personality traits of this Indian group.

128 Now we want to see the Papago as he grows up to be one of the Desert People. This part of the study is a biography, a composite picture of Papago childhood. It is a record of the experiences common to most Papago children, derived from the histories of many of the children studied in both the eastern and the western parts of the Reservation and from the observed behavior of Papago of all ages.

128 This life-story is divided into stages marked by significant changes in the 561 child's behavior toward other persons. These stages correspond roughly to the following age groups: the first four years of life; later childhood (five to ten years); and adolescence (from about eleven to eighteen).

These divisions cannot, however, be taken too literally for a number of reasons. For one, during the transition between phases (for example, four to six years and ten to twelve years) the child's behavior is least clearly defined—not necessarily in the case of the individual child but in regard to Papago children as a whole. Also, the Papago are completely unconcerned with chronology. Though there are baptismal records for most children (except in the extreme West) and a small number of birth certificates, even in Baboquivari District few parents have kept personal records or know their children's birthdays. In the western districts most people simply have been assigned birthdays by the census-taker, and they are unaware of even these hypothetical dates. The significant fact for our purposes is that parents are not interested in and have no knowledge of the dates at which their children achieved certain skills, such as walking and talking.

956 Moreover, the Papago have no formalized age grouping. The only rites
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4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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that define passage from one stage to another—the birth ceremony and the girl's puberty rite—are private occasions which do not serve as announcements but merely as insurance of the well-being of the individual and his family. The terms the Papago use show their indifference to time concepts: the tiny infant is called "just born"; "child," "boy," or "girl" are used from infancy to adolescence, and "girl youth" or "boy youth" between puberty and marriage. In other words, between early infancy and marriage the Papago recognize only two stages: before and after pubescence. However, there is no more radical change in behavior patterns at pubescence than at any other time.

This distinction illustrates very well the usual child development pattern of the Papago; training is informal and leisurely, attuned to the child's natural pace and accomplished with little conscious planning. The process is continuous, with few absolute landmarks; one phase blends into and overlaps those preceding and following it. Small wonder that the Papago use biological manifestations to mark the changes.

Since this study is written for readers who are accustomed to the white pattern of clear age groups and because such classification facilitates comparison with child development elsewhere, the 0-4, 5-10, and 11-18 age groups will be used here. We now turn to the first phase.

BEFORE THE BABY IS BORN

Papago children are more widely spaced than among some Indian tribes and white groups of similar economic status. There are a few families in which a child is born every year, but, judging from census records, in most families births occur from eighteen to thirty months apart.[1] Considering the death rate among Papago children, the average is near the lower end of this range. Most of the women seem to prefer not having a child every year because they feel that they cannot adequately care for so many children and will be likely to lose them. But, as noted in chapter iv, apparently most women take no contraceptive measures, and the taboo on intercourse for a month after childbirth no longer prevails.

Life goes on much as usual for the expectant mother, and there appears to be little illness in connection with pregnancy. No special considerations are shown her, and the pregnant woman performs all her usual tasks, lest she have a difficult birth. On the other hand, she is not segregated or given extra duties.

Some taboos are still in force for prospective parents. They must stay away from animals that make children sick, and they must not touch animal blood. The father avoids killing rattlesnakes and rabbits, but most men no longer re-

1. This statement is qualified by the uncertainty with chronology noted above.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter IX

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

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WHEN he is about to enter the second period of childhood, from five through ten years—or earlier if a new baby has already arrived—the child is exposed to a second guiding principle in Papago relationships: authority is rightfully in the hands of those who claim age seniority. This is not a formality that begins or ends with the rule of a few ancient persons. It is an active everyday principle that applies to Papago of all ages after babyhood, even in the most casual relationships.

The very young child is not much concerned with seniority, for in his case it is outweighed by indulgence. (He may, of course, have noticed the authority of adults over children older than himself.) But, when he reaches the age of five, he becomes a working part of the system wherein the supervisory role is determined by relative age; adults and older children have authority over him; he in turn has authority over his juniors.

Yet his control is not complete, for the principle of indulgence comes into play, and the younger child must be gratified before himself; jurisdiction over his juniors is limited by his ability to make it pleasurable to them. He must learn to be benefactor, where previously he was only beneficiary.

The role of benefactor is not invariably a happy one, and sooner or later the child tries to force his will upon his junior. The little one demands adult intervention and gets it. Then the older child finds himself in the middle of a conflict involving three persons. He learns that the adult will indulge the younger child at his expense and that rebuke comes swiftly indeed if he is suspected of misusing the power of his seniority.

Thus when still very young the Papago child learns two simple rules of behavior which will guide him throughout life: authority goes with age; authority must not be abused.

It should not be thought, however, that the child is constantly being frustrated. True, babies must be indulged, even at his expense. But the five-to-ten-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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year-old can also claim indulgence as a young child, and, though older children and adults have control over him, they are obliged to please him so far as is compatible with the general welfare of the household.

Use here of the words "rule" and "principle" in describing authority among the Papago does not imply a rigid set of laws which the child must learn as he learns that two and two make four; the child is not taught proper behavior by having authority explained to him. He is occasionally reminded that a baby must always be satisfied and that children must always mind their elders, but the child learns chiefly by observation and imitation how to make his control over younger children palatable and how to appeal to adults when older children frustrate him.

Certain ideals of Papago behavior are, however, made explicit for the benefit of children. In the evening when the family is gathered together, the grandfather or other adult speaks often and at length on the virtues of industry, honesty, and kindness. In this desert land, where everyone must work together in order to live, an important part of child-training is the emphasis on working hard and on getting along well with other people. Boys and girls are constantly warned to avoid squabbles, and quarreling children are separated and roundly scolded. Adults say, "We tell them to be kind to people and not to quarrel." To the Papago kindness appears to mean the antithesis of quarrelsomeness. It is tolerance, good nature, and respect for other people's rights rather than active benevolence. To instil these desirable qualities, the elders moralize at length, for excessive oral argument is a recognized and conscious method of child-training in this age period and the next.

LEARNING TO BE WORKERS

Most Papago children begin to share in the work of the family about the time they enter the five-to-ten age group. As noted in the previous chapter, a young girl's play group may be charged with care of the baby while his mother is busy with other tasks. A little girl may be sent to fetch things needed from the house or storeroom for the women working under the ramada. She may bring water from the shade or spring and wood from the woodpile, and at this time she learns a few housekeeping chores—sweeping, rolling up bedding for the day, washing dishes, setting the table. An unusually capable girl may begin to assist with cooking or laundry by the time she is ten.

Boys in this age group are much more free to do as they please, particularly if they leave chores to help with the household chores. They seldom help with the smaller children unless no female is available, and, though they run errands, fetch water, and chop wood, little else is asked of them. Loitering about the

162 for widely varying lengths of time so that, in many cases,
167 it would be difficult to say whether the "usual" residence
128 was off the reservation or on the reservation. Assigning residence on the basis of the location of a family at the time of our interviews would have resulted in even more misleading figures since the number counted, as in the case of the United States census, would depend upon the season of the year when the interviews took place.

It is, of course, quite risky to interpret the statistics on residence by age and sex. No doubt a great many factors enter. Adults in the age bracket 20 to 44 are more apt to be living off the reservation than individuals in other age groups. This could result from two factors: Younger adults of this generation are more inclined to seek work in off-reservation communities, and older adults of this generation are inclined to return to the reservation as they grow older. Among children, the small differences in residence are probably traceable to the Papago desire to place school age children with relatives on the reservation when an off-reservation move is made.

Differences in residence by sex have not been tabulated for this report and are too small to have any meaning by age groups. Adult men and women move off the reservations in about equal numbers and it must be concluded that married couples, on the whole, move together when a move is made. The number of women exceeds the number of men in the

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Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age difference in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (37%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population Employment by Age. Individuals 19 Years and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2340	113	4.3	1907	154	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2340	72	2.8	1907	[illegible]	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2340	1065	41.9	1907	632	33.2
Unemployed	2340	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2340	60	2.4	1907	333	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 80% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognise that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1]60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).
[2]Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%
[3]Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.
[4]This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.